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she may perhaps best be considered temporary owner until her children are old enough to control the house for themselves.

In theory, the adopted child inherits only from his adopted parents. If it should happen that the adopted child is the only child or the only surviving child of his blood parents, by arrangement he may also share in the coconut lands and other property of his blood parents.

PRODUCTION OF WEALTH

Division of Labor

The division of labor is based primarily on sex, and to a minor degree on age. Table 2 shows the division of work between men and women. The division is fairly rigid in the sense that it is rare for a woman to go deep-sea fishing, or for a man to have much to do with talo preparation.

Table 2. Division of Labor

Work of Men	Work of Women	Joint Work
Fishing for all fish	Beach angling, lagoon groping, shell fishing	Torch fishing (occasionally)
Bird snaring		
Canoe building		
Making of mats, implements, nets, weapons, artifacts, ornaments		
Building house framework		Making roof sheets of coconut or pandanus
House thatching		
	Plaiting of mats, mats, etc.	Plaiting of rough baskets and pottery
	Planting, cultivation and harvesting of talo	Fertilizing of talo beds
		Excavation of talo beds
Preparation of pigs for cooking	Cooking of talo, pigs, fish	Water carrying
		Care of pigs and fowls
Making of food divisions		
Gathering and husking of nuts	Gathering of nuts by young girls (occasionally)	
	Husking of mature nuts	
	Domestic household duties	Training and care of children
Control and guarding of reserves	Guarding of reserve (Late, modern)	
Political and priestly duties		
Practice of medicine	Practice of medicine (occasionally)	

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462 162 626 577 One jealous woman is reputed to accompany her husband everywhere he goes, even going fishing with him. She is the butt of much private ridicule. A man in Ngake suffers from paralysis of the leg and is unable to carry out men's occupations. As his wife is bedridden, he devotes much time to preparing his own taro foods. This is no matter for ridicule; the village has pity for his misfortunes and rather admires the way he shoulders the burdens of running the household.

462 244 709 The heavy work of taro bed excavation was probably always joint labor. In Yato and Loto villages, little excavation is done at the present time. Ngake men labor strenuously with the women at enlarging the village and private taro beds on Motu Ko. In former times, when closely allied with priestly possession, the practice of medicine was almost exclusively a male occupation. Women practice medicine a little today, based on a limited knowledge of some herbal remedies for use in childbirth, inflammation, and the like.

557 587 Division of labor on the basis of age applies mainly to the very young and the very old. The participation of children in adult activities is slight, and follows in general the lines of adult sex division. A child's participation increases as he approaches adulthood. The only boy noticed who regularly helped with the domestic tasks of taro preparation had a mother with no female relatives to help her in the care of numerous small children. The tasks expected of an old man or woman are light. Most old people continue to putter with trivial tasks as if loth to feel that their days of active employment are over. The very feeble are cared for by children and relatives.

463 554 The amount of specialization in Pukapukan economic life is small. Every man considers himself able to perform adequately most adult male duties, and every woman considers herself a good enough cook or mat plaiter. Specialists (*tangata uuiva*) were limited to such occupations as canoe building, the practice of medicine, and priestly duties; they received recompense for their special abilities either in gifts or in added social prestige. All specialists save the priest participated in the daily routine of economic activities. Minor specialization occurs where one man in a group of relatives is recognized as being especially skilled in the making of sennit, or the lashing of house frames; when the kinship group is working on a joint project, work is allotted to those best able to complete it. Specialization depends on natural skill and training, not on inheritance or purchase.

Economic Routine

271 Seasonal variation of work is very slight; deep-sea fishing is poor during the hurricane season, and not engaged in by the men as frequently as it is during the colder season; taro beds are fertilized about twice a year, depending more on the growth of the taro than on the season. There may be slightly less activity during the rainy months.

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372 possible to transfer fire from one cook house to another. It is a common sight in any village to see children and adults carrying fire from one cook house to another in order to start a fresh blaze.

To procure fire, one end of a coconut spathe (*tauma*) is placed in a burning fire until it ignites. As it is carried away, it is moved gently in the air to keep it flaming. To transfer fire from smouldering cinders or ashes another technique is used: a coconut spathe is held with the tip toward the body, and the butt end is folded back on itself about 12 inches from the end; a section of the spathe at the fold is shredded with the fingers; cinders or smouldering wood are picked up in the fold and carried back thus to the cook house, or else the cinders are blown upon and the shredded spathe ignited. This method is used regularly for starting fire with a match.

Ovens

343 Kitchens (*wale imu*) are small houses set back from the dwelling houses.
352 In the villages they are permanent structures, well built, of the *wale waka-*
372 *yamoa* type (p. 111). In the copra settlements they are smaller, of rougher build, and, in the main, of the *wale toinuku* style (p. 109). The kitchen shelters the oven (*imu*) which is situated at one end, often under a lean-to shelter, so that the prevailing winds blow the smoke away from the cooks.

The oven ground is excavated to form a sunken space about 4 feet square and 18 inches deep. The edges are lined with logs to prevent the sand from falling in. The bottom is filled with oven stones (*vatu imu*), blocks of coral conglomerate (*kaupapa*), or, when available, imported volcanic stones (*kale*). Because the coral does not last long under heat and must be frequently renewed, *kale* stones are highly valued. *Tridacna* shells are not used as heating material.

To build the oven (*fu te imu*), coconut shells (*ngaipu*) are piled on the floor of the oven, dry coconut husks (*pihipihi*) are stood around them, and the oven stones are piled on and around the sides of the husks. The shells are lighted by a burning coconut sheath inserted under them. When the fuel has burned out (*kua matemate te imu*), the hot stones are pushed aside (*tolo te imu*) with the butt of a coconut midrib (for this purpose called *toa*). Bits of burning wood and charcoal are thrown away. So as not to burn the food a few cold coral pebbles are sprinkled on the hot ground, and the floor of the oven is covered with *puapua* leaves (*lautalou*). Food packets covered with leaves are placed on the *lautalou*. The hot oven stones are piled on top of the food packets and covered with flat bundles of *puapua* leaves tied with coconut leaflet midribs. Green coconut husks are carefully arranged on top of the leaves so as to cover them entirely. The whole is covered again with several layers of *polapola* coconut-leaf mats arranged so there are no cracks through which heat may escape. Today old copra sacks form a convenient and valued substitute for *polapola*. The whole oven covering is termed *tutau*; to cover the oven is *uwi te imu* or *tui te tutau*. Whenever a woman comes back from the taro beds, she places a bundle of *puapua* leaves on her head to serve as a pad to cushion the weight of the basket of taro and tucks more leaves into the top of the basket to keep the taro from falling out. The leaves thus brought back to the cook house are preserved for use as oven covers.

Cooking

252 Cooking is done by women. On certain rare occasions a man may
262 prepare food without disgrace: when in a group of men alone on the reserve

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252 462 hands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one berdache on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

264 In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *aule inna* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

267. 261 Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

262 158 Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

252 262 The coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods of eating and preparing are:

1. The sweet husk of the *ouopolo* is chewed (*ngaungaua*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*pipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *oukomuko* is baked (*oukomuko tao*) and eaten with *pipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*ulko*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *mata* and *hatihati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu mata tao* and *niu hatihati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinaki*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu halakalo* from the *niu mata*: The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *halakalo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*pea*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu mata* is also made *ifo niu halakalo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially for sick persons. The unopened *niu mata* is cooked on hot stones (*niu mata tunu*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

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871 868 in later life is absorbed from his association with his elders in their everyday crafts and tasks. Boys and girls learn to climb coconut trees, and both accompany their elders to the talo beds where they learn talo culture. While the boy associates with his male elders and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing methods, the girl stays with her adult female relatives and learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. No one particular relative is more concerned with the education of the boy or girl than any other relative. Due to the vagaries of household membership and adoption, a child will learn from any related adults in the household.

868 462 857 It may well happen that where there are no boys in the family, or where there are no girls of appropriate age, the roles of the boy and girl will be for the moment reversed.

Thus, Pita, the oldest son in a family of six children, performs more household tasks than most other boys of his age (10 years). His daily duty to feed the pigs is one usually performed by adults. On Saturday, the great day of the week for food preparation, Pita regularly grates coconut for his mother's Sunday talo pudding, doing this in the morning while his mother and his young sister are away in the talo beds. Similarly, because there are no boys in her household, the little girl, Akakino, often accompanies her grandfather when he fishes from his canoe in the lagoon, helping him to bait the hooks, and takes a boy's share in the fishing activities of the household.

868 857 The use and control of fire is learned very early. Almost from the time they start to walk, little children carry burning coconut spathes from one cook house to the next.

372 One woman sends her grown daughter to get fire. The girl is accompanied by her brother, just learning to walk. When she lights the torch, he cries out for it. She gives it to him, and holding it at the proximal end, with the distal end resting over his shoulder, the little boy toddles home with the flaming brand. Three-year-old children are ordinarily sent off to get fire. They confidently put their piece of dried leaflet in any fire that is already burning, wait till it ignites and then stroll home very nonchalantly, carrying the torches over their shoulders or waving them in the air to produce a shower of sparks. The children have certainly no fear of fire and show great confidence and skill in its use.

868 In the more skilled men's crafts—the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines—a boy learns today as he learned in the past, through watching and imitating an expert, either someone in the same household, often his grandfather, or one of the older men of the village group. The older men, being largely released from the necessities of daily fishing, have time for crafts. An interested boy or youth watches the older person at work, and is given at first simple tasks, later graduating to the more difficult skills under the tutelage of the old master. During the days when a village is preparing for a fishing contest, the boys and men sit about together and make or repair in common the fishing gear to be used for the contest. In this way the young people learn all there is to know about the making of fishline, anchor lines, and fishhooks, and are told whatever else of the arts

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

In order to prevent theft or any unfair proportioning of the taro and coconut crops, a rigid tapu excludes everyone from entering a *motu* without permission from the village council. Loto erected a watchman's house on the embankment of the main part of the communal taro pit and walls of coral slabs (pl. 3) to insure the protection of its taro supply behind the village.

When it is time to gather food the entire population moves away from the village. During the harvesting period each section lives on its own *motu*, where it has a small settlement of houses. Harvesting that includes the cutting and drying of coconuts for copra requires a longer period of residence at the *motu* settlements than the ancient harvesting periods and it is necessary for the women and children to accompany the men and settle away from the village for several weeks. Formerly the women and children were forbidden to go into the *motu* and the men did all the harvesting as the need for food arose. Today while the main population is away a few old people and children remain in each village section to guard the houses and property left behind. None of the others are allowed to return to the village during the harvesting period. Our visit to Pukapuka during the harvesting period brought the people back to the village, for a ship is an unusual circumstance. Yet each night they returned to their own plantation quarters.

Motu Kotava Islet has one plantation village, Aonga, which consists of a cluster of small huts in the middle of its north shore. A path running southward from the village divides the island. The land at the eastern point of the islet is Puipui; the middle division is Oloavalu, and the western division, Kokoakanava. The western point extending out to the southern reef is Te Auma. Uluniu and Alitaiva are two pieces of land along the southern beach.

Motu Koe Islet has its plantation village, Te A or Te Aa, in the heart of the bay on the lagoon shore. The houses are in two groups. At one time there were settlements of the immigrant Eaki people located at each end of the islet. These people dug the large taro pits which are used by the present Pukapukans. Smaller pits have been dug by the present people also. This islet has several ancient, pre-Christian graves, where Pukapuka chiefs, killed in fights against the Motu Koe people, were buried.